113 Forschungen 1904-1907 /Anthropological Monograph on a West African Negro Tribe/, Results of the Lübeck Fang Expedition 1907-1909 and Earlier Research in 1904-1907/ (2 vols.) (Berlin: Wasmuth, 1913), p. 34 (a short vocabulary).

-----. "Die Volker und Sprachen Kameruns /The People and Languages of the Cameroons/," Petermanns geographische Mitteilungen, 1932, pp. 185-86.

●197 We wonder whether G. Tessmann knew the following three lines written by von Stein zu Lausnitz: "The Bati languages show certain resemblances to those of the Baya and the Bangandu of the eastern end of the colony." (1)

113 1. von Stein zu Lausnitz, "Eine Erkundungs-Expedition zwischen Wuri und Sanaga /An Exploratory Expedition between the Wuri and the Sanaga/," Deutsches Kolonialblatt, 1908, p. 523.

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Bulletin de la Societe d'Etudes Camerounaises, No. 3 (July 1943), pp. 25-26 and No. 10 (June 1946).

Moisel map, G2, Jaunde, April, 1913. /59/

## THE PAHOUIN

101 131 It has seemed necessary to us to employ the term "Pahouin," generally used by the French to designate a group of peoples who,

114 The great explorer Schweinfurth was the first to present the theory
174 that the invasion must have begun far to the east among the Azande, south of Bahr el Ghazal (approximately 23° long., and 5° north lat.). Dr. Poutrin, R. P. Trilles, Largeau, and Avelot accepted his conclusions, but Baumann and Westermann rejected them as greatly exaggerated. According to them, the Pahouin came only from the high Sanaga and had reached the western part of Equatorial Africa through a series of successive westward migrations, avoiding the great equatorial forest by going around it in the north and going through the valleys of the Lom and the Adamawa. "The advance of the subgroups," write Baumann and Westermann, "was made in successive leaps, as each group pushed the other ahead or passed them by. The migration was made by kin groups, about thirty to a tribe, which constituted the only political and social unit. These kin groups (agon) moved continuously westward, often passing one another; the last comers settled beyond their predecessors for a generation or two and then departed again."

The last push was made quite recently, /60/ in the southern part of the plateau of the Adamawa, by the Mbum and the Baya, who subsequently had to yield to the Fulbe /Fulani/. This last move from the right bank of the Sanaga to the forest dates back no more than about a hundred years. When the Europeans came, they in turn stabilized the positions of all these peoples.

114 In spite of the linguistic investigations quickly undertaken by the Germans, whose great specialist was Father Nekes, and the study of
101 oral traditions carried out to a greater extent by the French, the con-
●197 clusions arrived at concerning the distribution of the Pahouin in the Cameroons are not entirely in agreement with one another. They are as follows:

Father Nekes is the authority on the subject, but his classification is chiefly linguistic. According to him there are two major groups, the Beti and the Mvele. In the first he includes the Ewondo, the Bane /Bene?/, the Yetenga, the Yetudi, the Eton, and the Betsenga; in the second, the Mvele, the Yebekolo, the Yebekanga, the Bulu, the Ntumu /Ntum?/, the Okak, the Omvang, and the Fang. Tessmann connects the Yesum with the Bulu.

114 According to Dr. Schnee, the "Fang" are divided into two large groups, the Betschi /Betsi/ (established in the northwest) and the
101 Makei /Mekei/ (settled in the southwest). His division is based on whether they pronounce the phrase, "I say that," as Mekima or Matsina. The groups are divided into an infinite number of tribes,

Bafök-Yangafuk
Tsinga - Betsinga

174 The recognized kinship among the various groups clearly permits us to assert that their extraordinary dispersion is quite recent, going back no further than to the historical period when the Tikar and the Babute made their last advances and were driven back by the advancing Fulbe. Before that time these peoples probably inhabited the entire plain south of the Ndomé. Ndoumba was their most important center.

●197 Language. The linguistic unity among the various groups of Bafök and Yangafuk confirms our impression. Dialect differences among them are minimal; they all understand each other.

G. Tessmann classifies their language as falling between that of the Bamvele and the group of Pahouin languages. As we have already mentioned, a passing observer at Lena, the Reverend Good of the American Mission, noticed a very great similarity between the language spoken there and that of the Bulu in the south.

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## TSINGA - BETSINGA

131 Widely scattered habitat: $11^{o}20$ to $11^{o}50$ long. and from south to north: $3^{o}35$ to $3^{o}50$ north lat. near Yaoundé $4^{o}15$ to $4^{o}40$ north lat. on the two banks of the Sanaga.

101 Physical and Human Geography. Like the administrator Cournarie in the past, we have grouped together under one term the peoples generally designated as Tsinga, Betsinga, Betchenga, or Batchenga. One name is probably a transformation of another. Since the traditions of the various groups are the same, it seems inappropriate to draw distinctions among them.

361 The Tsinga are so widely dispersed that their territory does not form a unit. They are located on both banks of the Sanaga (there known as

361 the Betsenga) as far north as its tributary the Maloko and, toward the south, for about a dozen kilometers inland. Another Tsinga zone exists in the northwest on both sides of the M'Bam. Another fairly homogeneous center may be found much farther south, east of Yaoundé. Finally, there are several Tsinga villages just south of the Nyong in the vicinity of the southern road.

It is impossible to calculate the area of their various habitats except near the M'Bam (75 square km.), among the Betsenga of the Sanaga (180 square km.), and for the few purely Tsinga villages east of Yaoundé (189 square km.). Elsewhere these people appear only together with other populations.

[161] The total population comes to 15, 562 persons.

361 Near the M'Bam, as well as on the Sanaga and its little tributaries,
173 the Tsinga are settled in a land of small hills and valleys, on a prairie broken by groves and by clumps of forest. According to their traditions they originally lived north of the Sanaga, but the Babute advanced upon them. Many of them crossed the river. It appears that as soon as the Germans came and /67/ stopped the Babute, some of the Tsinga returned to the north of the Sanaga. /Map 5 covers p. 66./

197 Some say that the Tsinga are related to the Eton, and this statement
113 seems to be confirmed by the similarity between the two languages (See Nekes) /"Jaunde und seine Bewohner (Sudkamerun)"/Yaoundé and its Inhabitants (South Cameroons/," Koloniale Rundschau, 1912/. See a few words of vocabulary in G. Tessmann's Die Pangwe /The Fang/, Völkerkundliche Monographie eines westafrikanischen Negerstammes. Ergebnisse der Lübecker Pangwe-Expedition 1907-1909 und früherer Forschungen 1904-1907 /Anthropological Monograph on a West African Negro Tribe, Results of the Lübeck Fang Expedition 1907-1909 and Earlier Research in 1904-1907/ (Berlin: Wasmuth, 1913), p. 34, under the name "Bati (Batjenga)," as well as H. H. Johnston, A Comparative Study of the Bantu and Semi-Bantu Languages, (Oxford University Press, Vol. 1, 1919, Vol. 2, 1922), Vocabulary No. 216, under "Bati (Bacenga)."

161 Demography. Their population balance is favorable; the ratio of births to deaths is + 1.14 percent.

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113 Von Stein zu Lausnitz. "Eine Erkundungs-Expedition zwischen Wuri und Sanaga /An Exploratory Expedition Between the Wuri and the Sanaga/," Deutsches Kolonialblatt, 1908, pp. 522-23.

## MANGISA

131 Location: 11°15 to 11°30 long.
4°25 to 4°30 north lat.

### Physical and Human Geography

131 Area: about 316 square km.
161 Population: 14, 588 inhabitants
Density: 46.2 per square km.

131 The Mangisa occupy the right bank at the bend of the Sanaga, a land of wooded hills.

173 They were probably among the peoples who crossed the Sanaga rather early, for their traditions say that, in later times, when the Eton also crossed the river, they found the Mangisa occupying the territory. /Map 6/ Fairly intensive struggles followed; then the two peoples formed an alliance which enabled them to live in peace side by side.

361 311 Like the Eton, the agricultural Mangisa live in large villages. Because of the density of the population, the entire /68/ woodland has to a large extent been cleared for their plantations, and palm trees have been planted.

197 174 But what is the exact origin of the Mangisa?

Language. The question has been raised in linguistics.

G. Tessmann has written: "In the classification of the Pahouin tribes of the north, the situation is not yet clear. One thing is certain: all the tribes—at least all those of the northeast—contain a more or less pronounced component derived from the Bati-Mbam. Thus, a few decades ago, the Eton and the Mangisa spoke a pure Bati; they have therefore become Pahouinized only in recent times, at least as regards language (1)."

1. Günter Tessmann, "Die Völker und Sprachen Kameruns /The People and

197
174 Languages of the Cameroons/, "
Petermanns geographische Mitteilungen,
1932, p. 184, note 4.

On the other hand, on the basis of a personal communication from Dr. Aujoulat, who worked among the Mangisa for several years, Dr. Olivier makes the following statement: "However, on the basis of differences (from the Pahouin) in language and physical type, Aujoulat has hypothesized a different, more northern origin and contact with tribes whom he calls Sudano-Bantu, namely the Yambasa and the Sanaga (2)." On the basis of the classifications that we our-

2. Bulletin de la Société d'Etudes Camerounaises, No. 15-16, p. 55.

selves propose in this work, would not a Beti origin be possible? This great question is raised once again here.

141 Physical Anthropology. The /anthropometric/ indexes have been calculated by the Drs. Olivier and Aujoulat as follows:

| | OLIVIER | AUJOULAT | |
|---|---|---|---|
| | Men | Men | Women |
| Cephalic | 76.0 | 76.7 | 76.3 |
| Facial | 81.4 | 77.7 | 77.9 |
| Nasal | 88.7 | 86.0 | 90.5 |
| Cormique | 50.4 | 50.9 | 50.6 |
| Envergure/T | 104.8 | 105.0 | 103.8 |

143 Their blood-group ratios show a greater proportion of AB type than is present among other Pahouin, and a predominance of type A over type B. The percentages are as follows:

O: 52 percent; A: 21.9 percent; B: 10.9 percent; AB: 15.2 percent;—index $\left[\frac{A+AB}{B+AB}\right]$ : 1.44.

ETON

131 Location: 11°10 to 11°45 long.
3°45 to 4°30 north lat.

131 Physical Geography. Area: 2, 520 square km.

133 The country of the Eton is made up of hills and plateaus; it drifts
137 gently down from the heights of the country of the Ewondo to the valley of the Sanaga River. The border of the great southern forest crosses the territory from south to north; the westerly two-thirds of the area are covered with forest, and the last third is prairie. The Sanaga borders the country only in the northwest and northeast, for the greater part of the loop [misprint in French text: bouche for boucle. See map.] of the river is occupied by the Mangisa. /69/

161 Human Geography. Population: 111, 738 inhabitants
Density: 44. 3 persons per square km.

173 It is impossible to say whether the Eton should be counted among the Beti populations who were dislodged and crossed the Sanaga or whether they were among the first Pahouin to cross the Sanaga at the time of the invasion. Their traditions do not go back very far; they only tell of their departure from the fork of the M'Bam and the Sanaga. /Map 7/ The Eton say that after crossing the river in the direction of the present-day village of Nkolbogo, they fell upon the Mangisa who had already arrived, and then spread themselves throughout the territory which they occupy to this day.

361 The Eton are settled in large villates, whose hamlets line the length
487 of their many trails. At present their country is traversed by several roads on which heavy trucks can travel so that their products can reach Yaoundé and the railroad.

●147 Language. With reference to this subject it seems best to refer the reader to the paragraph on linguistics in the chapter on the Mangisa, since the same question is raised for the two peoples. /70/

142 Physical Anthropology and Demography. The Eton are above average in height, mesocephalic, and platyrrhin.

143 Their blood-group ratio is typically Negro, with a relatively high proportion of the AB type:

O: 55. 7 percent; A: 13. 8 percent; B: 17. 5 percent; AB: 12. 9 percent;—index $\frac{[A+AB]}{[B+AB]}$ : 0. 878.

141 Their height is /for the/ average: men 167. 8 cm.; women 159. 9 cm.

●197 Languages. Father Nekes, who is an authority on the subject, was the first to show the very close relationship which exists between the Ewondo language and the languages spoken by the Pahouin of Gabon and of Spanish Guinea, despite the wide Bulu zone that separates them. The people of Gabon and the Ewondo readily understand each other.

Nevertheless, in the same year B. Struck and Nekes pointed out that in the past the Ewondo and the Bane spoke "Ati," and that they only recently adopted the Pahouin language (See Koloniale Rudschau, 1912, p. 220 and H. Nekes, "Jaunde und seine Bewohner (Sudkamerun) /Yaoundé and Its Inhabitants (South Cameroons)/, "Koloniale Rundschau, 1912, p. 469). In 1913, when Father Nekes published his book, Die Sprache der Jaunde in Kamerun /The Language of the Yaunde in the Cameroons/, he actually wrote in his introduction: "The old Ewondo today still speak 'Ati'."

Although the evolution of the language was probably completed under the eyes of Nekes a few years before World War I, at the present time the new language has been adopted entirely.

On this subject see also Gunter Tessmann, Die Pangwe. /The Fang/. Völkerkundliche Monographie eines westafrikanischen Negerstammes. Ergebnisse der Lübecker Pangwe-Expedition 1907-1909 und früherer forschungen 1904-1907 /Anthropological Monograph on a West African Negro Tribe, Results of the Lübeck Fang Expedition 1907-1909 and Earlier Research in 1904-1907/, (Berlin: Wasmuth, 1913), pp. 30-31.

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361 The Ntumu make up a fairly homogeneous group falling between the Fang and the Mvae.

173 History. According to the oral traditions of the Fang, the last stage of their journey to their present habitat brought them from the south. Therefore, it is possible that they formed a part of the ancient Fang migration which came from the north /78/ and reached Gabon by way of the Ivindo Valley. It is thought that the few groups under discussion then moved slightly north, where they encountered the Bulu who arrived somewhat later.

The Mvae are an offshoot of the Fang, who arrived with the latter. At first they were dispersed throughout the whole N'Tem basin but were later displaced by the arrival of the Ntumu.

It is impossible to separate the arrival of the Ntumu in the N'Tem Basin from that of the Fang, since they were a part of the same invasion. But their oral traditions say that they occupied the country in two waves which came from different directions. It is thus possible to distinguish in their history two branches of migration: One came from the northeast, passed through the Ebolowa region, and went down to the south. Other Ntumu came from the present-day territory of Sangmélima with the Fang and went south with them, through Mimvoul, Bitam, and Oyem. Like some of the Fang, they then went back north and west through the valleys of the Woleu Benito, the N'Tem, and the Kyé. The fusion of the two branches occurred either on the banks of the N'Tem (in the Eba region) or between the Kye and the N'Tem, between 1905 and 1910. Their villages became mixed. It was during these local migrations that the Mvae branch is thought to have been N'Tem pushed out of the Basin.

●197 Language. The Fang speak the language that they brought with them from the more southern region (present-day Gabon) when their migration moved back from south to north. Struck believes that they are the ones who, coming from the south, introduced their neo-Bantu language among peoples somewhat further to the west, and that the Bane and the Ewondo, who until that time had spoken "Ati," were also reached in this movement from south to north. (Koloniale Rundschau, 1912, p. 220.)

If this assertion is plausible it forces us to think that the arrival of the Bulu, who are also Pahouin, was not the end of a migration, for their presence in their current habitat would have prevented a direct contact between the Fang and the Ewondo, the only condition under which such a far-reaching linguistic influence would have been possible.

361 The settlements of these peoples vary in appearance. The villages and hamlets of the Yengono, the Yembama, and the Yelinda are located in relatively open country and they stretch out along numerous trails. The Bulu in the south, situated in a land of parallel valleys through which flow the tributaries of the Nyong and by thick forest, can only build their villages along the valleys. This whole area, es-
241 pecially in the Nyong Basin, is very fertile. The natives have fine fields of food crops and many palm trees. Many prosperous enterprises, lumber yards, and fine groves of cacao trees can also be found. /81/[Map 13]

489 All the products are transported to the railroad at M'Balmayo along a large network of roads and the navigable parts of the Nyong.

181 The Bulu are intelligent and hard working, and are capable of becoming excellent craftsmen.

●197 Language. We have seen that Father Nekes and G. Tessmann see a very close relationship between the language of the Bulu and that of the Mvele. The Bulu language includes a number of dialects with only slight variants, and falls between the speech of the Ewondo and that of the Gabon Pahouin, which are almost identical.

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## Physical Anthropology and Demography

141 Bulu: average height, men 165.4 cm.; women 157.6 cm.

| Indexes | Men | Women |
|---|---|---|
| Cephalic | 77.8 | 79.2 |

133 Sanaga. The northern part of the Mvele territory is a high plateau which is covered by prairie interspersed with strips of forest. It is very well watered by tributaries and subtributaries of the Sanaga which flow calmly on broad river beds. Toward 4° north latitude a row of hills marks the dividing line between the waters of the Nyong and the Sanaga basins. Thus the entire southern portion of the Mvele country is part of the Nyong Basin. The last vestiges of the forest are to be found there, in addition to crops and many palm trees.

Human Geography

161 Population: south of the Sanaga: 35, 340 inhabitants in 1945
north of the Sanaga: 1, 655 inhabitants
density south of the Sanaga: 15. 3 persons per square km.

174 History. The movement of the Babute was also responsible for pushing the Mvele back to the left bank of the Sanaga in the middle of the last century. A few enclaves remained wedged in between the various small groups who sought refuge in the area between the M'Bam and the Sanaga Valley. Therefore, the Mvele of the north and those of the south are really part of the same group.

The various authors are not in agreement on the question of a kinship between the Mvele and the large group called Yesum. According to Engelhardt, these are two separate groups. G. Tessmann, on the contrary, believes that the Yesum must be considered part of the Mvele "complex."

361 When the Germans first reached the Mvele they were struck by the unusual appearance of their villages. Engelhardt describes them as follows: "Unlike the rest of the Fang, who place their huts in rows on both sides of trails, /83/ the Mvele build theirs in a star-shape around a central square or with no regard for symmetry." (Deutsches Kolonialblatt, 1902, p. 421.)

487 From the beginning of the German occupation, the trails in the
489 territory served as trade routes to the south over which the products of the east were transported toward Yaoundé and to the coast. At the present time these products are carried both on the road that crossed the Mvele country in the south (from Akonolinga to Yaoundé) and on the eastern highway (from Nanga-Eboko to Yaounde). /Map 14/

• 197 Language. According to Engelhardt the Mvele tongue is very similar to that of the Ewondo and seems to be but a dialect of the

●197 latter. Father Nekes, however, is of a different opinion; he stresses a very great resemblance to the Bulu language of the Ebolowa district. In his opinion the Mvele language represents a more archaic form than those of the Ewondo or the Bane.

See:

Tessmann, Günter. Die Pangwe /The Fangs/. Völkerkundliche Monographie eines westafrikanischen Negerstammes. Ergebnisse der Lübecker Pangwe-Expedition 1907-1909 und früherer Forschungen 1904-1907 /Anthropological Monograph on a West African Negro Tribe, Results of the Lübeck Fang Expedition 1907-1909 and Earlier Research in 1904-1907/ (Berlin: Wasmuth, 1913), pp. 30-31 (a short vocabulary).

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Nekes. Koloniale Rundschau, 1912, pp. 469-70. /84/

141 Physical Anthropology and Demography. The Mvele are slender, slightly platyrrhinian; they have the features of the Sudan in attenuated form.

| Indexes | Men | Women |
|---|---|---|
| Cephalic | 77.5 | 78.4 |
| Facial | 81.3 | 82.1 |
| Nasal | 90.0 | 85.5 |
| Cormique | 51.5 | 52.1 |
| Envergure/T | 104.1 | 103.1 |

143 Their blood group ratios are typically Negro, although the proportion of group AB is slightly greater than in the classical formula. O: 51 percent; A: 14.3 percent; B: 16.3 percent; AB: 18.4 percent; —index $\left[\frac{A+AB}{B+AB}\right]$ : 0.942.

161 The population balance is not being maintained: the index of births to deaths is -0.21 percent.

See:

131 Olivier, G. "Etude anthropologique comparée des principales tribus de la region de Yaoundé /A Comparative Study in the Physical Anthropology of the Principal Tribes of the Yaoundé Region/,"

Yekaba Bamvele, Bobili

174 long migration of the Pahouin—although the name "Yalongo" spoken of in their geneologies is reminiscent of the Beti. Once again we are aware of the complexity of the Beti-Pahouin intermixture.

361 491 The villages and huts spread through the bush give an impression of poverty, although in 1903 the Germans noted that the great trade route from Bertoua to Yoko passed through Yekaba territory. /Map 16/ At the present time the whole length of the territory is serviced by the great eastern highway (Yaoundé—Nanga-Eboko—Bertoua).

197 Language. The fact that the Yekaba form part of the Pahouin migration is apparent from G. Tessmann's tribal map, where they are shown in the large Pahouin blot—under the general heading of "Mvele." We will return to this subject later in the chapter on the Bamvele.

161 Demography. The Yekaba are definitely decreasing in number.

165 163 The infant mortality rate among them is 34.3 percent. The sterility rate is 33.93 percent; the fertility rate is 4.3 pregnancies per woman, but with about 10 percent stillbirths.

161 The population balance shows a ratio of -4.4 percent births to deaths.

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Moisel map, G3, Dume. /88/

## THE BAMVELE AND THE BOBILI

131 Location: 12°30 to 13°30 long.
4°35 to 4°50 north lat.

101 On all German maps the people we call Bamvele are designated by the name of Bele (see the Moisel map and Tessmann's tribal map).

from the Masai territory during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries? The presence of Ba-yoka in the midst of the tribe is, of course, insufficient evidence. In order to give a satisfactory answer to this question we would have to be able to make a comparison between the languages."

The country of the Bamvele and the Bobili is enriched by the presence of beautiful palm trees which are the sole source of prosperity for these peoples.

The country is serviced in the south by the eastern highway and also by a central road which runs from the Yekaba frontier to the north of their district.

Language. Although the traditions of the Yekaba and the Bamvele state that the ancestors of both peoples fled from among the Yalongo north of the Sanaga, the linguistic map of G. Tessmann clearly distinguishes between the two.

As we have seen, he says that the Yekaba speak a Pahouin tongue. The Bamvele (Bele in the German terminology) are said to have brought from their land of origin a language which is different from, although related to, the Pahouin languages, but mixed with that of the Beti. This observation is interesting and plausible. The Yekaba of the same origin as the Bamvele may thus have borrowed their language.

See Günter Tessmann, "Die Völker und Sprachen Kameruns /People and Languages of the Cameroons/," Petermanns geographische Mitteilungen (Gotha, 1932), pp. 117 and 184.

Physical Anthropology. The people are almost all tall and strong, with flat noses and a marked prognathism. The trunk of the body is proportionately long.

Average height: men 169.7 cm.; women 158.9 cm.

| Indexes | Men | Women |
|---|---|---|
| Cephalic | 79.3 | 78.7 |
| Facial | 84.7 | 84.9 |
| Nasal | 87.0 | 81.8 |
| Cormique | 51.5 | 52.5 |
| Envergure/T | 104.5 | 104.2 |

●197 Language. The linguistic map of G. Tessmann shows without comment, the Yebekolo, under the category of "Mvele."

141 Physical Anthropology and Demography. The average height of the Yebekolo is 165.5; the average cephalic index is 78.8.

143 Their blood-group ratios are as follows:
O: 69.3 percent; A: 13.1 percent; B: 12.1 percent; AB: 5.35 percent;—index $\frac{A+AB}{A+AB}$ : 1.197.

165 The extremely high rate of infant mortality (58.64 percent) is due
164 to malaria1. The disease is fostered by the marshiness of the region, which is likely to remain a source of sleeping sickness as well.

161 The population balance is stationary; the ratio of births to deaths is + 0.09 percent.

163 The sterility rate is 5 percent; the fertility rate is 3.98 pregnancies per woman.

See:

113 Olivier, G., with the collaboration of Drs. Aujoulat, Chabeuf, Chagnoux, André David, and Greiner, "Documents anthropometriques pour servir a l'étude des principales populations du Sud-Cameroun, /Anthropometric Documents for a Study of the Major Peoples of the South Cameroons/," Bulletin de la Société d'Etudes Camerounaises, No. 15-16 (Sept.-Dec. 1946), p. 65.

Brygoo. "Le nouveau-né et la femme enceinte aux environs d'Ayos /The Newborn Child and the Pregnant Woman in the Vicinity of Ayos/," Bulletin de la Société d'Etudes Camerounaises, No. 21-22 (1948), pp. 49-68.

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Tremesaygues. Unpublished report on the geneologies and the origins of the peoples in the subdivision of Akonolinga (1930).

Numerous reports in the Archives du Service de Santé /Archives of the Health Service/ from the medical station at Ayos.

Moisel map, G3, Dume

241 fields of peanuts and maintain beautiful palm groves and coffee and cacao plantations.

197 Language. G. Tessmann is no more definite as regards the language of the Omvang than other authors concerning their folk history. His tribal map shows the two Omvang sections stand out clearly on the large Pahouin area /Map 19/ His only comment on the subject is the following: "Probably they should be grouped with the Neo-Bantu, perhaps with the Pahouin, " ("Die Völker und Sprachen Kameruns /The People and Languages of the Cameroons/, " Petermanns geographische Mitteilungen, 1932, p. 190).

164 Demography. The western Omvang have one of the highest incidences of sleeping sickness.

161 Nevertheless, their population balance is slightly favorable; the ratio of births to deaths is + 0.83 percent.

163 The sterility rate is 8 percent; the fertility rate is 3.57 pregnancies per woman.

164 The eastern Omvang also have suffered greatly from sleeping sickness. /93/

161 Their population balance also shows a slight increase; the ratio of births to deaths is 0.92 percent.

163 The sterility rate is 9 percent; the infant mortality rate is very low.

## Bibliography

113 "Esquisse ethnologique pour servir a l'étude des principales tribus des Territoires du Cameroun sous mandat francais, d'après les documents allemands, les études de Dr. Poutrin en A.E.F. et les archives du Bureau des Affaires Politiques (1935-1937) (An Ethnographic Sketch for a Study of the Major Tribes in the Cameroons Territories under French Mandate, on the basis of German Documents, the Studies by Dr. Poutrin in French Equatorial Africa, and the Archives of the Bureau of Political Affairs for 1935-1937), "Bulletin de la Société d'Etudes Camerounaises, No. 3 (July 1943), pp. 18-19.

Unpublished reports of the administrators Bertaut and de Villedeuil in the Archives of the Bureau of Political Affairs /Archives du Bureau des Affaires Politiques/ and in the documents of the S.E.C. /Société d'Etudes Camerounaises/.

Moisel map, G3, Dume.

114 /• Ordre disperse (Military conception) =
53 extended order. —Ed./

definite relationships. Later, on the other hand, the Pahouinization of neighboring tribes, subjugated or merely influenced, brought about assimilations that were often misleading.

Broadly speaking, we may say that a large body of invaders, rather recently come from the northeast—the Pahouin properly so called—assimilated through contacts on the one hand, some of the inhabitants of the invaded area, on the other hand, likewise assimilated other invaders who followed in their wake. What is certain is that this assimilation or Pahouinization of foreign tribes is going on at the present day, partly due to the mere fact of colonization.

We shall distinguish in this study between the invaders—Fang, Boulou, Beti—on the one hand, and, on the other, the neighboring populations that have been or are being Pahouinized.

## A. The Invaders or True Pahouin

101 Theories as to their boundaries are too many and contradictory for all me to expatiate on here.

In Father Trilles' view they are divided into two branches: b-Osyéba /Osieba/ in the east, Fang in the west. The Mekuk are connected with the first, the Méké, Betsi, "Mvègne" (Mvaé?), and "Boulé" (Boulou) with the second. Largeau like Schnee bases his division between Bedzi (betschi) and Mekei (makei) on linguistic considerations; the first, in the west, tend to begin their remarks with the formula ma zɔ̂ na, the second, in the east, with me ki na. Here there appears to be a partial confusion between the Pahouin properly speaking, and the Pahouinized Maka (Mekaé) (1). Madame Dugast

[117] 1. There are indeed two Fang dialects, corresponding to the zɔ̂/ki (or jɔ̂/ki) criterion, but the people who speak them all call themselves Fang. Besides, there is a Maka or Mekaé tribe whose [117] language is close to eastern Fang, which it has perhaps influenced.

101 grouping between the Bantu of the central Cameroons and the Pahouin.

However that may be, certain tribes cannot be studied except in connection with the true Pahouin:

the Ewôndo of the Nyong-and-Sanaga region
the Banê of Nyong-and-Sanaga, N'Tem, and Dja-and-Lobo
the Fong of the Dja-and-Lobo and N'Tem (the last, moreover, influenced by the Boulou)
the Mbida-Mbanê and Mvog-Nyenge, east of Yaoundé, who are probably descendants of prisoners-of-war of the preceding

The Eton of Saa and Obala may also be associated, but already with more difficulty, with the Ewôndo, for instance. On the other hand, the other Beti tribes ought rather to be classed with the Pahouinized peoples discussed below.

B. Assimilated or Pahouinized Tribes

101 Among these we must distinguish those who were in the country at
154 the arrival of the Pahouin from those that followed.
503 a) Tribes that followed the Pahouin invasion. These are fundamentally, as pointed out above, the Beti. According to Nekes, some
● 1997 of the tribes already mentioned still spoke an ati dialect at the time of the German conquest. At the present time one can point out as in the process of "Pahouinization" (Ewôndo dialect):

The Mangisa, Yekaba, Bamvele, Evuzok, Batchanga /Betchenga/ (Tsinga), /7/ Omvang, and Yetudi of the Sanaga. On the other hand, the Beti of the right bank (Bati, Kombe, Bundju, etc.), also few in number, are more drawn toward the Babouté /Wute/, Bafia /Fia/, etc.

b) Aboriginal tribes or tribes established before the Pahouin invasion. There is reason to treat separately the Pygmy groups (Bibaya, Babinga, Beye'ele) and mixed populations (Bekoé) who live symbiotically with the Pahouin without by this fact being really absorbed.

The Pahouin invasion seems to have come on a country occupied by two Bantu groups come from the east several centuries before, which it drove back either toward the sea or toward the present eastern boundary of the Cameroons.

The first of these would have been the Maka and Ngoumba /Ngumba/ group, which was cut in half by the invasion, Maka on the

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Pahouinized to the point of finding themselves mixed with the Pahouin of the Middle Congo. This mingling is still going on at the present time among the other tribes of the Kozimé group and specifically among the Konabembé /Konambembe/, Esel (1), and Medzimé

[197]

1. The Esel require two comments: first, they appear to speak a language very close to Duala; second, they have the same name as one of the principal Pahouin clans.

/Ndsime (Medjimi, Mendsime)?/. All these tribes, coming from the northeast (Mekaé) or southeast (Kozimé), and Bantu-speakers, formerly had a much more extensive habitat to the west and north, whence they were driven back toward the south by the Baya and Kaka, and toward the east by the Pahouin.

The Bakwelé /Kwele/ of the Middle Congo apparently may also be connected with the Kozimé and, like them, may be considered Pahouinized. They were pushed back onto the left bank of the Ivindo at a comparatively recent date, like their neighbors to the south, the Bakota /Kota/ and the Okandé /Kanda/. The Séké and Akélé /Kalai (Akalle)?/ of the lower Ogooué are probably related to them.

Finally, the Pongwé /Mpongwe/—already mentioned—the Ouroungou /Rungu (rungu)/, Bapounou /Puno (Bapuno)?/, Galoa, and Nkomi of the lower Ogooué probably belong to an intermediary group between the Bantu of the northwest (Duala and coastal group) and the Vili-Kongo in the south (Baumann), the Myéné group. These tribes not long ago occupied most of the territory of the true Fang, whence they have been forced back for a century by the Pahouin invasion, which did not reach the sea until 1890-1900. The Benga (coastal Bantu) and Pongwé of Libreville, isolated in the midst of the Fang, the Ouroungou, Séké, Asembé, Galoa, and Bapounou of Port Gentil and Lambaréné are the last non-Pahouin peoples in existence on the right bank of the Ogooué. The Fang have, it must be added, a solid bridgehead on the left bank in N'Djolé District.

We must remember that throughout Pahouin country there are groups of Pygmies, whose status will be discussed further on.

as against the fruits of the earth) and flees to the west, land of the dead or the ancestors, where the frustrated elder son pursues him (1).

1. This association of the west with material goods, of the east with the produce of the land, is found again in the potlatch (bilaba), described further on.

Largeau and Grebert make of the usurping younger son the ancestor of the Whites, but Trilles has collected versions which he considers older, in which the younger son is the ancestor of the Bantu of the coast; these versions, moreover, exist side by side with Largeau's. It is possible that the association of the younger son with the Whites dates from the first trade contacts. /18/

## Chapter 3

## The Language

### 1. Distribution

The group as a whole is characterized by an unquestionable linguistic unity, which spreads across cultural and anthropological boundaries. I have earlier indicated the existence of Pahouinized tribes or tribes becoming Pahouinized, especially the Maka and the Kozimé. To these must be added the Pygmies living symbiotically with the Pahouin, and whose language they appear to have adopted to a very great extent, to a point where it is difficult to know for certain if they still possess a language of their own.

Moreover, Pahouin dialects tend to be used as a trade language in areas where, on the one hand, the Pahouin are but a minority, often as emigrants, or, on the other, in regions less advanced economically and socially than is their own habitat.

There are therefore:

a) A true Pahouin linguistic area: this is Pahouin country as described in the first chapter. There Pahouin is spoken as a mother tongue by the Pahouin themselves and in all probability by the Pygmies.

197 There it is spoken as a main language though not really a mother tongue by permanent or semipermanent immigrants, of whom the greatest number are the Bamiléké in the Cameroons and, in Gabon, the "Gabonese" of the Myéné linguistic group.

b) A Pahouinized area, including in the Cameroons the left bank of the middle Sanaga (Beti country, with Mangisa and Eton especially), Maka country around Abong-M'Bang, the left bank of the Dja in Jem and Dzimou country (1); in the Middle Congo, part of Ouesso District

1. Koch, in "Le petit bétail chez les Badjoué et Bikélé de Messaména /Small livestock among the Bajoué and Bikélé of Messamena/," Bulletin de la Société de Recherches congolaises, 13-14, March-June, 1946, gives striking examples of the penetration of Boulou into this region.

(in the west), that of the Souanké; in Gabon the left bank of the Ivindo, among the Bakwelé. Differences between the languages spoken in these areas and the Pahouin dialects are rapidly disappearing.

198 197 c) Areas in which Pahouin dialects serve as trade language, either between tribes with different languages, or for administrative and commercial relations, even for political and /19/ religious propaganda. In the Cameroons, Ewondo serves this purpose on the right bank of the middle Sanaga, in the M'Bam region, as well as on the left bank toward the Ubangi border in the Lom-and-Kadei region, especially in the Bertoua subdivision. Boulou has become the trade language of the Kribi region. In Spanish Guinea, Fang and Boulou are used as a common language by immigrants from the French territories. In Gabon the Myéné dialects are giving way to Fang, which is coming more and more into use, as far as the Congo-Ocean railway. In the large towns—Douala, Yaoundé, Libreville, Port-Gentil, and even Dolisie—Pahouin dialects are used by immigrants belonging to other linguistic groups.

197 The vigor of the major dialects—Boulou, Ewondo, Fang—comes not only from the enterprising character of the Pahouin but also from the work of missions which distribute a good deal of literature in these dialects, while the languages of some of the neighboring populations have not been transcribed or have only given rise to scanty publications.

## 2. Dialects

197 Guthrie lists seven dialects, including three principal ones: "YAUNDE, 197 BULU, Ntum, Meka, Zimu /Nzimu/, FAN, Make." It would probably be better to speak of three dialect areas corresponding to the three groups—Beti, Fang, Boulou—already defined, each area containing a predominant speech, which is always the one transcribed by missionaries. The importance of this sociological phenomenon is underlined by the fact that the transcribed dialects tend sometimes to extend beyond and sometimes to shrink within the corresponding ethnological area, in conjunction with nonlinguistic factors, the principal one being the religious affiliation of the speakers. Likewise, it is established that in certain areas a mother tongue coexists with a written dialect learned at mission schools and spoken by Christian converts.

The predominant dialect in the Beti area is Ewôndo, the working language of the Catholic mission, which is rapidly supplanting the Beti (Ati) dialects properly so called of the Sanaga Valley. The Eton dialect, for instance, which was more Ati than Pahouin on the eve of the 1914 war (Nekes), is today completely assimilated; Tsinga and Mangisa are on the way to being so. Finally, Ewôndo as a trade language is gaining ground in the north and east, as already indicated. In the south, on the contrary, though it may be replacing Banέ and Fong and even be making superficial inroads into the Catholic cantons of the Boulou-speaking area; it is losing out to Boulou in the districts [191] evangelized by the American Presbyterian Mission. Thus the Banέ, the Fong, and certain Protestant Ewôndo are in fact bilingual; they speak as their mother tongue a dialect close to Ewôndo, while they write, pray, or sing in Boulou.

197 Boulou is therefore gaining in the Ewôndo linguistic area in the north. Toward the east, it is gaining among the Mekaέ and Kozimέ, has supplanted Fang among the isolated Fang groups of the north, and serves as the cultivated language among the /20/ Cameroons Ntoumou [198] and Mvaέ (except for Catholics) and as a trade language at Kribi and in Spanish Guinea. It even competes with Fang as a written language in northern Gabon. In the Catholic sectors it is putting up quite a good resistance to Ewôndo, except where it comes in contact with Banέ and Fong.

Fang has supplanted Ntoumou in the Woleu-N'Tem region—except in Bitam District, where it is in competition with Boulou—and

197 in Spanish Guinea. It is advancing to east and south and tending to replace Pongwé as a trade language. Its progress remains handicapped by the existence of several transcriptions that borrow simultaneously from different dialects, a fact which hinders standardization of the dialect. It seems however that the dialect of the west—Mazouna or Betsi—is gaining on that of the east—Mekina or Maké—which, moreover, has provided fewer elements in the transcriptions.

The differences between Ewôndo, Boulou, and Fang are unmistakable, but not such, however, as to prevent communication. The syntax is practically identical, the grammatical differences unimportant. The distinctions between different kinds of speech are chiefly related to pronunciation and vocabulary.

194 As for pronunciation, there is a striking resemblance between
197 Fang and Ewôndo, which is rather surprising, since the two groups are separated by the Boulou enclave and do not have, or no longer have, direct contacts. Ewôndo is a little less harsh, a little less guttural than Fang, while Boulou is neither in any way. Above all, Boulou is quite without r, ordinary or fricative (r, x), replacing it with t or, more recently, with a velar l:

arki (Ew.), arigi (F.) = ahlki (B.)
kalara (Ew.), kalaghë (F.) = kalat (B.)

Boulou usually avoids hard or emphatic intervocalic occlusives (g, k, gh, kh) and replaces them with a vocalic plosive /attaque vocalique/ or a rough aspirate:

saghele (F.), sakélé (Ew.) = sa'ale (B.)
afôghele (F.) = afô'ôlo (B.)

It omits many of the initial nasals of Fang:

Nzame (F.) = Zambe (B.);

and uses j (ʒ) in preference to dz:

zé (F., Ew.) = jé (B.);

likewise ty (tʃ) in preference to, or together with, k:

ôkeñ (F.) = ôtyeñ (B.).

192 From the point of view of vocabulary the three kinds of speech differ chiefly in their borrowings from neighboring languages. Guthrie estimates these loan words at not more than 5 percent of the vocabulary of the Pahouin group, but the proportion is greater in Ewôndo and in Fang, in the latter reaching 20 percent. The borrowings come from the Myéné group for Fang, from Ati for Ewôndo. Boulou borrows indirectly /21/ from Myéné and Ati, directly from

written texts, but the majority remain current only in the spoken language, the speaker moreover not hesitating to invent as need arises.

## 4. Classification

Most writers, from Meinhof to Guthrie, class the languages of the Pahouin group with the Bantu. In his general classification of Bantu languages (1948), Guthrie puts them in his area A, under the decimal number 60, including Ewondo, Bulu /Boulou/, Ntum /Ntoumou/, Mekaé, Zimu, Fañ /Fang/ (the so-called Betsi or Mazouna dialect, although he does not specify this) and Maké (doubtless eastern Fang, the dialect called Makina). Stoll includes Ewondo in his work on the Bantu and semi-Bantu languages of the Cameroons, without specifying whether he classes it with one or the other (3).

> 3. In its reports to the United Nations, the Cameroons government qualifies the Pahouin of the southern Cameroons as "neo-Bantu."

Yet it seems certain that, if these languages are really to be included in the Bantu family, they form a special category, which cannot be likened purely and simply to the unquestionably Bantu languages of adjacent populations. Besides, there is discussion as to whether the Pahouin invaders brought their language with them or have adopted and changed that of the peoples established before them on the Cameroons-Gabon plateau. There has also been some hesitation about classing the languages /26/ of the border tribes, notably Mekaé and Kozimé, either with the Pahouin group or with the adjacent Bantu groups. For instance, while it is agreed to put Ngumba beside the Bantu languages of the coast, Mekaé, which is certainly related to it, is classed sometimes with the Pahouin tongues, sometimes with those of the Bantu of the eastern Cameroons.

The existence of a nominal gender (Bates' Class III) lacking a classifier prevents our putting the group among "agglutinating languages with a perfect class system having a special pronoun for each class," where Delafosse places Bantu. Mademoiselle Homburger (Le langage et les langues /Speech and Language/, p. 69) makes of it a separate family, close both to coastal Bantu and to semi-Bantu. In the chapter she devotes to Bantu in Les langues du monde /Languages of the World/

197 114 she connects it with Delafosse's West African group, harking back to its non-Bantu character in Les langues africaines et les peuples qui les parlent /African Languages and the Peoples Who Speak Them/.

Father Trilles and Abbé Walker believe that they have found Semitic and Hamitic influences in Fang. A borrowing from Sudanese appears more likely. Westermann classes "Bati" in the semi-Bantu group, pointing out that the term "Sudanese languages possessing classes" seems to him more appropriate. Now, we know that Beti (Ati), which is losing ground today to Ewondo, is itself very close to Fang (Betsi-Mazouna) and recently reached to the northern limits of Boulou, which it has influenced.

We may therefore come to the conclusion that the Pahouin linguistic group, at present very close to Bantu, ought probably to be considered intermediate between the true Bantu tongues and the semi-Bantu or Sudanese class languages, historical circumstances and contact with neighboring peoples having accentuated the Bantu traits in such a way that it is proper, from the methodological point of view especially, to classify it as a special family of the Bantu group (1).

1. In the absence of specific mention, it seems that Greenberg (no. 70) would classify it in his Nigero-Congo group. [i.e., Niger-Congo. -Analyst]

## Chapter 4

## Economic Life

### 1. Subsistence

222 262 The diet of the Pahouin peoples would be enough to prove that their attachment to the land is quite recent. In fact the importance of collected produce is striking. According to a study carried out in Eton country (region of Yaoundé) by Dr. Masseyeff, the consumption of mushrooms amounts on Eton average to 4.1 grams per day per person (1). Snails, termites, caterpillars, palm larvae, and crickets

1. R. Masseyeff, A. Cambon, Enquête sur l'alimentation au Cameroon, Rapport à l'Office

[11] Chapter I

## The Fan Tribe

000 1. Divisions of the Fan Nation. "Fan" and "Pahouin" are two words not only synonymous but identical. The four Fan groups. Tribe, clan, and family (elementary cell).

2. Allied Tribes. Likenesses and differences between the Fan and related and so-called related tribes.

3. Size of Population. Errors in official statistics.

### 1. Divisions of the Fan Nation

101 Before beginning this study, a word ought first to be said about the Fan [Fang] nation and its divisions into groups, tribes, and clans. [Footnote omitted. --Translator]

The Fan or Pahouin [Pahuin] or Mpawin [Mpangwe] (2) --

101 197 2. The word "Fân" is the truly native word to designate this tribe. Strange as it may seem at first glance and in spite of the great change, "Pahouin" is another form of the same word. The first tribes on the coast with whom we were in contact called the Fân "Mpân," or mu-pân (pân, man), abbreviated to mpân by a process common among these African languages. Thus mpira, powder, in Mpongwe becomes efira in Fan; mpilato, tray, becomes filato; epélé plate, from Spanish "plata," becomes mfil by way of plata, epilata, épila, épèle, efèl, mfèle, mfil, etc. Out of "Mpân," a word which only the tribes

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of the Nsex branch pronounce this way, the northern tribes -- Kombé, Banoko, and others belonging to the Mpongwé branch -- have made "Mpangwé, as none of the languages of the Gabon or Mpongwé group let a word end with a consonant but always require a vowel. "Mpangwé" became "Mpangwen" for the French and soon thereafter "Mpangwin"; it has now turned into "Mpawin," "Pawin," and finally "Pahouin," in which form it is indeed difficult to recognize the original.

101 because these three words [12] refer to the same people -- are the most important tribe of the French Congo and the German [now French] Cameroons.

101 The Fan proper are divided into four distinct families
197 with respect to dialects: Bétsi [Betsi], Méké [Mekei], Fôn, and Bulé [Boale] (in manners and customs they are all absolutely alike). These four groups do not speak such different dialects that they cannot understand one another unless at first meeting; they certainly do so after several days of association.

[Five paragraphs in pp. 12-13 deleted here. --Translator]

101 [13][Of the four groups] the first two are by far the best known, having made the first migrations or at least having been the first in contact with the white man. Everything that has been written about the Fan relates to these [two], particularly to the Bétsi.

The Bulé group is often considered to be connected with either the Fan or the Yaundé, through whom it would form the intermediary link with the Méké. The Fôn (1), or people of the

1. Fôn, bamboo pith, dark depths of the forest.

interior, as the etymology of their name indicates, have remained up to the present time altogether inland beyond the Bétsi and
[197 Méké. Their dialect relates them to the Bétsi, differing in being
194] more guttural. The tribes live closely intertwined in the same

## 2. Allied Tribes

101 619 Not only do these four large divisions -- Bêtsi, Mêkê, Bulê, and Fôñ -- make up the Fan nation proper, but a certain number of other tribes revolve within their circle and are connected to the same branch. I say "a certain number" because the interior of the German Cameroons and the hinterland lying between the Woleu, N'tem, and upper Sanga rivers has been little explored. Before our arrival the existence of the Dzèm [Njem] was barely known; the Dzandzama had never been mentioned. These tribes form the intermediary link connecting the Fan to the Batêkê branch and through this to the Kanioka and other central Congo tribes, [16] whose folklore has analogies with that of the Fan as I recently pointed out. (1)

1. See Anthropos, Vol. 4, pp. 945-971; Vol. 5, pp. 163-180.

A Yaundê grammar was published not long ago in Anthropos; (2) these people are without doubt an offshoot of the

2. See Anthropos, Vol. 4, pp. 684-701, 919-930.

Bêtsi branch. The Bosyêba dialect is somewhat different and is nearer that of the Bubi of Fernando Po; the group also belongs to the Fan nation. Finally, deviating from the primitive stock in progressive order, there are the Dzèm, Dzimu [Ndsime], and Dzandzama, nowadays scarcely leaving the jungle and the country of the Nyamnyam [Niam-Niam, Azande]. In spite of what has been said of them in the past, their language is only distantly related to that of the last tribe. (3)

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3. Since certain observers and explorers -- such, for instance, as Allegret, a former Protestant missionary in Gabon, who connects them with the Nyamnyam, Fulah,

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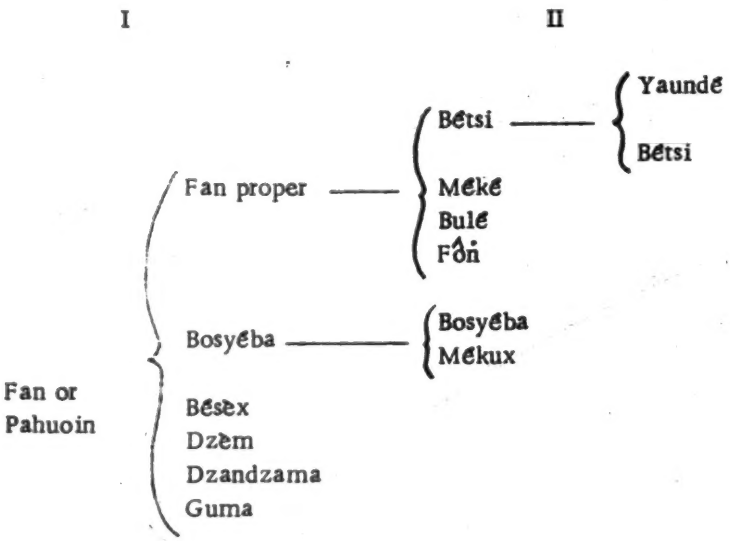
Azande groups -- insist on this relationship based only on apparent ethnographic characters, let me simply give this table of the four languages, Fan, Osyeba [Osieba], Dzɛm (unpublished), and Nyamnyam (after Schweinfurth and Colombaroli):

| | Fan | Osyeba | Dzɛm | Nyamnyam |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Man | Mur | Muri | Murum | Combâ |
| Woman | Munga | Mura | Muma | Dɛ |
| Girl | Ngon | Šyɛ | Lêsi | Dégudɛ |
| Old man | Ntôl | Ntôli | Tuma | Binzâ |
| Sister | Kal | Kali | Kalo | Bɛwili |
| Father | Sa | Sôn | Da | Ba (ɛba in Fan mɛkɛ) |
| Name | Džu | Džina | Ndžɛ | Limô |
| Body | Nul | Mulɛ | Nulo | Kuô |
| Skin | Eko | Kundɛ | Kuro | Kuôto |
| Head | Nlô | Nlô | Nlô | Li |
| Forehead | Mvabal | Bandɛ | Nbalopum | Vu |
| Tongue | Dɛm (pl. Mɛm) | Gimi | Gyɛm | Mirassɛ |
| Village | Džal | Kware | Kwor | Lingara |
| Door | Mbi | Mbiɛ | Lɛbaa | Ngwadumo (lit., house door; duma, nest in Fan) |

As the footnote shows, the differences between Fan and Nyamnyam are tremendous. Scarcely 150 words could be found with the same root, and even those would prove nothing, for the Fan have certainly [17] been in contact with the Nyamnyam during their migrations and therefore could, and must have, borrowed a number of words.

101 619 To sum up, the Fan may be divided as follows:




● 197 The Fan, Bosyéba, Bésex, Dzèm, Dzandzama, and Guma tribes may be assumed to speak separate languages not dialects of one. These languages are, however, closely related; they have very nearly the same principles and are cognates.

Bétsi, Méké, etc., merely represent dialects.

[One paragraph deleted, repititive. --Translator]

101 619 161 The Dzèm, whose hitherto unpublished language I hope to make known soon, are grouped in the upper N'tem region; their population should not be more than 100,000.

The Dzandzama border them on the southeast and provide a linguistic link to the Baténé, southern neighbors; their population is about that of the Dzèm.

The Bésex, or Bulu, who occupy a large part of the region to the north of the Ogooue, a widely dispersed tribe, formerly very powerful, now almost extinct through poison, practitioners [feticheurs], and pressure from the Pahuoin. Their population is not likely to be greater than a few thousand. [18]

8: Bennett D-5 (ca. 1898) 1899 FH9 Fang FH9



and like a resistless army they are steadily approaching the coast, building towns and displacing weaker tribes. That fine race of people, the Mpôngwes, often spoken of as the "aristocratic tribe," and ranking first in the scale of civilisation above all other tribes in the French Congo, is rapidly dying out, and they are already being supplanted even at Gaboon by the migratory Fang.

The Bulu people inhabiting a portion of the German sphere of influence in West Africa are without doubt very closely related to, if not a direct offshoot from, the Fang; their customs are identical and their language so markedly similar that a person who is able to speak Bulu is readily understood by the Fang. The first day of my arrival among the Fang, after residing in Bululand, I was able to make known the reason for my coming and to ask and answer ordinary questions. While visiting on a small island called Nenge-nenge in the Nkomo River, a very old Fang man told me as follows: When a lad his grandfather had told him that, a long time ago, many of his tribe "changed their towns." These people first travelled far in canoes, and then after journeying for very many days through the forest, they "stopped walking and made new towns," and they did not return. My informant's father had told him later more about these people; they had been heard from, and their long absence from the original tribe had so changed them that "they spoke new words" (a new language).

Examples could be given almost without limit of the great similarity in the language as spoken by the Bulu and Fang. A few will suffice; and I will select from the proverbs of the people which are also identical. Tell a Bulu man to hurry with his work, he will often reply, "*Alu da dayi bol' nzok?*" (Will one day rot an elephant?). The Fang speak the same proverb thus: "*Alu avoti bol' nzok?*" Again, the Bulu use the words *Melu myus* (the days that are past), *Melu osu* (the days that are to come), *Melu mesese* (all the days). These sayings and numerous similar ones are in daily use among the Fang, the words used and the idiom being almost identically the same as in Bulu. I have wondered if the account given me by the old Fang man at Nenge-nenge about the people who years ago "changed their towns," might not be of more than passing interest as touching the genesis of the Bulu.

The Fang people are spread over an immense area of country, and when questioned regarding their numbers they usually reply, "There are Fang and Fang; if you walk and sleep in towns and towns for many *moons* (months) you will find Fang." In the future it will be found that in the ethnography of equatorial Africa the Fang will hold a very important place. As before stated they are unquestionably closely related to the Bulu, and Compiègne recognised a marked similarity between them and the Osyeba, Monbutta and Nyamnyam people. There are several scattered tribes of dwarfs among the Fang. Five of these pigmies live within two miles of my station, and they tell me that more of their people will soon "move their towns" and come to live on the banks of the Nkomo river. The Fang people look on the pigmies as a very clever and superior people, and not without good reason. An old headman told me that the *mon nqui* (dwarfs) first